



CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

Honorable J. W. Fulbright  
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Fulbright:

I welcome an opportunity to comment on S. 822, a bill to create a Freedom Commission and a Freedom Academy. There can be little doubt that the United States must constantly seek in all practical ways to improve and accelerate its efforts to deal with the massive and varied challenges of international Communism throughout the free and uncommitted areas of the world. I have some doubts, however, whether the proposals in S. 822 would achieve the bill's worthy aims or indeed whether the net impact would be constructive.

S. 822 relates both to research and informational activities with a predominantly domestic U.S. impact and to activities designed to strengthen U.S. capabilities abroad for countering Communist tactics. As this Agency's responsibilities are exclusively in the foreign affairs field, I shall pass over the bill's domestic implications. The basic issue in the foreign field is whether establishment of the proposed new instrumentalities for research and training would enhance our national effort.

Much is already being done by both governmental and private organizations throughout the world to expose and counter the aims and tactics of international Communism and to foster alternatives consistent with the ideals and values of a free society. A number of these efforts are highly effective, although they quite

appropriately are sometimes relatively unpublicized in the U. S. Increasing attention is being given within the Executive Branch to coordinating existing U.S. governmental programs and encouraging complementary private activities abroad by universities, foundations, and international labor and professional organizations and their foreign affiliates.

In the educational and training fields, the Executive Branch has been placing increasing emphasis in departmental, agency and interagency schools and training courses on the nature, theory, history, and tactics of international Communism, with particular stress on means of countering Communist subversion and insurgency in underdeveloped areas. This Agency is actively participating in this program, which should largely achieve the purposes of the proposed Freedom Academy, insofar as training and indoctrination of Government officials and employees are concerned. There also are a number of private facilities in being or under development for training selected foreigners in combatting Communist subversive tactics and strengthening free institutions.

These governmental and private informational and action programs and official governmental training programs dealing with Communist activities, tactics and techniques are being progressively coordinated and strengthened within the limits of available appropriations. Likewise, the intelligence community has long devoted a considerable amount of coordinated effort to collection, research, and analysis programs concerned with the aims, strategy, and modus operandi of international Communism, and constant efforts are being made to strengthen and improve such efforts, drawing as appropriate on nongovernmental facilities and nonintelligence components of the Government. The results of this research program are made available to the foreign affairs action elements of the Government for guidance and exploitation.

While we are constantly endeavoring to improve existing Executive Branch efforts, I question whether a publicized Freedom Academy would add significantly to what is currently being done in the research field, and I have more serious doubts about its foreign impact. American graduates of a Freedom Academy would, if identified as such, have a more difficult time than otherwise in winning the confidence of foreign officials and other community leaders abroad that is a prerequisite to effective influence. This would be

particularly true in the uncommitted areas of the world. The foreign graduates of a Freedom Academy officially and openly sponsored by the U.S. Government to combat Communism would likewise be subject to Communist denunciation, as well as to possible suspicion by their own governments upon their return to their homelands. The idea of providing training in recognizing and combatting Communist conspiratorial techniques is eminently sound, but I believe that a publicly established U.S. Government school of the kind envisaged would not be an effective countermeasure to the secret political schools of the Communists. These derive what success they achieve from their secrecy and from the conspiratorial methods employed by their graduates, most of whom can only be identified by intelligence methods.

Another weakness implicit in the creation of a Freedom Academy, it seems to me, is the implied assumption that a single "operational science" or doctrine of freedom can be developed and applied to unify the people of the U.S. and free world in opposition to Communism. Whereas the strength of Communism superficially lies in the discipline of its adherents and their devotion to a unified doctrine, the underlying strength of our own and other free world societies lies in their diversity and freedom for individual thought and development. Effective countering of Communist influence often depends as much on offering positive alternatives as on understanding of Communist tactics. These alternatives to Communism will, in free societies, often be diverse and depend upon the historical, social, economic, and psychological factors peculiar to the local situation.

Helping the governments and peoples of free world countries to resist and defeat Communism requires an intimate understanding of their local history, problems, and aspirations and it requires a broad-gage program responsive to them. The task therefore becomes as broad as U.S. foreign policy and the aggregate of U.S. foreign affairs programs for specific countries. Economic aid and development, various forms of technical and military assistance, and student and leader exchange programs of both the governmental and private sectors all play important parts in helping threatened or vulnerable countries to strengthen their economic and social institutions in ways compatible with their own traditions and aspirations and thereby to lessen the attractiveness of the Communist prescription.

The need is not for an additional agency such as a Freedom Commission or Freedom Academy, but rather to see to it that our total foreign affairs establishment and its programs are geared to meeting and prevailing over the Communist challenge. I believe that we have been making substantial progress in this direction.

Sincerely,

Marshall S. Carter  
Lieutenant General, USA  
Acting Director

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<p>Remarks: Attached is a copy of a State report on S. 822, a bill to create a Freedom Commission and Freedom Academy. A draft report outlining the Agency's comments on this bill was prepared by [REDACTED] and has been pending in the Bureau of the Budget for many months. The Bureau has now suggested that we reconsider our comments in the light of subsequent events and State's report. You may wish to refer this to [REDACTED]. I believe our previous draft needs to be changed only slightly taking into account the fact that Mr. [REDACTED] will be signing the letter and stating a more negative conclusion.</p>																	
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FROM: NAME, ADDRESS AND PHONE NO.				DATE													
[REDACTED] Assistant Legislative Counsel				25 May 62													
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